Following *Paesani* Trails and Intimacies: San Giovanni and the Fairmont Coalfield

By Joseph L. Tropea and Janet S. Salvati

This article documents personal lives in a Calabrian village in south Italy and the Fairmont Coalfield in northcentral West Virginia. It reveals the fracturing of families through emigration, betrayal, divorce, and death but, also, the Appalachian redemption of an immigrant woman. A range of primary sources is used, from West Virginia records of a mining disaster and a divorce to Italian police reports and interviews. Paesani *(fellow villagers) guided the research not only in identifying emigration patterns but also patterns in leasing coal company housing; in deaths of women, children, and miners; in replacement of wives; and in recruitment of company labor. This research offers comparative glimpses into transformations in intimacy, inter-gender power, paid labor, and home production.*

Undocumented Lives

In the early twentieth century, "the huddled masses" arrived in the United States in the millions, but few works have "solved the problem of breaking through the anonymity of the inarticulate (non-literate) individual immigrant" for insight into private lives (Kraut 2001).[1] This challenge looms large for transnational migrants in Appalachia. Immigrants' decisive economic roles and portent of social instability have generally driven research on ethnic classifications and surveys of group progress in assimilation—not knowledge of personal experiences.[2] The immigrants found in memoirs, biographies, and testimonials show achievement, acquisition, and civic allegiance—not ordinary lives.[3] Research on Italians in particular shifted from

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unidirectional migration and assimilation to multidirectional transnational movements, to and through communities, cultures, nations, and periods, yet still remained focused on regional groupings.[4] Studies have explored much, from world commercial zones to social networks, while the ordinary migrant has continued to inform only in the aggregate. In coal-producing areas, in the United States as elsewhere, it was not uncommon for migrant miners to die unidentified, without names let alone biographies.[5] Occasional interviews of immigrants, as well as reports of the accomplished, often lacked primary-source support to corroborate a transnational life.[6] Even if well-documented, a migrant's life may not find itself in the historical literature. On the other hand, imagined Italian lives flourish in fiction, theater, and especially cinema, and unencumbered by documentation, achieve a popular authenticity not realized by archive-bound narratives.[7] Whether collected with methodological rigor or created with sensitive portrayal, aggregated or imagined lives do not substantiate a historical person.

The places through which migrants passed, settled, or died have exacerbated documentation problems when lives were not only misconstrued but left in their wake corrupted primary sources that confuse research. In West Virginia cemeteries, for example, a man named "Louis Patch" was buried before his marriage was recorded in Italy; two gravestones, both with incorrect names, mark the passing of a single immigrant trapper boy;[8] a Polish man, celebrated as the sole survivor of a mine explosion, was one of five migrants who escaped; Greeks were identified as "Turks," Poles as "Austrians," "Hungarians," or "Russians"; and Italians were buried with numbers, not names (Tropea 2013b). Appalachian sources are invaluable, but previous research has not used, or used inadequately, transnational sources to correct or corroborate local documents.[9]

Migrant culture has also challenged the construction of accurate knowledge of individual lives. Like many subordinated peoples, migrants learned the value of evasion and deceit. For Italians in particular, to allow strangers to penetrate their lives and intimacies was a violation of culture and person; their responses to queries were often belabored, circuitous, and implicit.[10] Accounts may hide and belie—as well as confirm—life's occasions.[11] Without substantiating documentation, in anecdotal reports of individuals it is difficult to distinguish fable from biography. Still more complicating, migrants fleeing problems "in the old country" may disguise their identities.[12] To counter these near-prohibitive factors, the research reported here employed primary sources and corroborating documents found in Italy and in West Virginia; knowledge of the transnational complexities of naming often-illiterate people; the deep structure of networks of countrymen; a feminist outlook; and interviews with contemporary descendants of

immigrant Italians. Ironically, investigation of a disastrous event affecting many hundreds led to the story of one couple's family.

Migrant Italians, Mine Disaster, Divorce

West Virginia coal companies recruited foreigners, primarily Eastern and Southern Europeans, to meet the needs of expanding production and to thwart the organization of domestic labor.[13] By 1892, many northern Italians were present in the Fairmont Coalfield, but by the twentieth century's first decade, southern Italians were the more significant part of its labor force (US Immigration Commission 1911).[14] These Italians moved from diurnal rhythms of open-air toil in the South Apennines to clock-time and largely piece-rate labor underground in Southern Appalachia.[15] Their working lives were controlled in numerous ways, including exercises in peonage (Bailey 1991).[16] Hours worked, injuries suffered, and deaths were recorded for men and animals in exactly the same way.[17] Mines were harsh in other ways; they separated workers from winter's daylight, spring's sounds, summer's warmth, and families' *pranzo* (midday meal).[18] Access to isolated coal camps was difficult; long hours of work and living conditions were extremely arduous (US Immigration Commission 1911). Migrant miners, with less replacement value than livestock, lost their names and lives: so many Italians died in the West Virginia mines that their numbers soon challenged the numbers of American dead.[19] Yet enticed by recruitment with promises of often-inflated wages, they continued to surge from *paese* (villages) to West Virginia in trying journeys. They poured from San Giovanni in Fiore, a Calabrian village, to the Fairmont Coalfield, an itinerant flow of labor that linked towns and economies but separated kin, like Antonio and Rosa.[20]

Antonio Silletta, aged twenty-four, and Rosa Scavoglio, eighteen, married in San Giovanni in Fiore, a small Calabrian village, in June 1899. Their daughter, Isabella, was born the following March.[21] After Isabella's birth, Antonio emigrated to work in the Fairmont Coalfield, in Monongah, West Virginia. He lived in a company house, paid rent to a "boss man" who leased the house from the company, sent remittances to Rosa, and dug coal for about three years before returning to San Giovanni.[22] Peasants who remained in the village often experienced deteriorating conditions; in particular, emigration worsened the terms of exchange for many "white widows," like Rosa (Reeder 2003). On the other hand, domination was enhanced for men who remained and possessed enough wealth to own a house and a mule; they could offer more than uncertain remittances from America. Rosa, a poor peasant, often visited the household of Giuseppe, where food was provided and lust satisfied. Giuseppe dominated his family as well as Rosa, eighteen years his junior. His flagrant use of Rosa and her

Figure 1: Antonio and Rosa's marriage certificate.

Comune di San Giovanni in Fiore
87055 - Provincia di Cosenza

CERTIFICATO DI MATRIMONIO
di

SILLETTA ANTONIO E SCAVOGLIO ROSA

L'Ufficiale dello Stato Civile del Comune di SAN GIOVANNI IN FIORE

CERTIFICA

che SILLETTA ANTONIO
nato in SAN GIOVANNI IN FIORE di anni 24
contrasse matrimonio con SCAVOGLIO ROSA
nata in SAN GIOVANNI IN FIORE di anni 18
in data 11-06-1899 per come risulta dal registro degli atti di matrimonio
dell'anno 1899 Parte I Serie = N. 41

Si rilascia il presente a richiesta di PARTE
per uso CONSENTITO

ESENTE DA BOLLO VALIDO ALL'ESTERO
ai sensi della legge 29-12-1990
n. 405 - art. 7 comma 5

San Giovanni in Fiore, lì 21 APR. 2013

IL COMPILATORE RESPONSABILE

L'UFFICIALE DELLO STATO CIVILE

Tipografia Alessio - S. Giovanni in Fiore

presence in the family home indicated his tyranny over parents, siblings, wife, and children. Giuseppe was unsettling outside of the house as well, and was even jailed for carrying a gun.[23]

In December 1904, Giuseppe's family planned a "welcome home" party for a returning West Virginia miner, but they refused to allow Rosa to attend the affair. Giuseppe erupted in anger and set fire to the animal stall, which incinerated the family house and killed his mother. He absconded. Rosa was jailed for suspicion of conspiracy in setting the fire and causing the death of Giuseppe's mother (Deposition, 3).[24] Subsequent to her arrest, Rosa told the police she had had a relationship with Giuseppe for about six years, which raises questions about Isabella's paternity.[25] The following

month, Antonio also returned to San Giovanni. He was greeted with shame and confusion; since Rosa was in jail—and pregnant—his plans for his family were mocked. He faced personal humiliation and a scandal, which embroiled his daughter, Isabella.[26] His actions suggest that he harbored no doubts about her paternity: he incurred both daunting responsibilities for a man alone and significant costs in removing Isabella from village shame.

Within a few months, Antonio left with Isabella for Monongah, where there was work and *paesani* (fellow villagers). He rented space in a company house, shared with other miners, which was hardly a suitable place for his five-year-old daughter. Shortly after Antonio's return to West Virginia, with the aid and support of a Fairmont humane society and the Italian priest in Monongah, in May 1905, Isabella was admitted to the Home of the Good Shepherd in Wheeling, West Virginia, run by The Sisters of Our Lady of Charity; for a cost of $2 per month, Antonio provided for his daughter's protection and care.[27] Rosa, too, soon traveled to the United States, aided by "the other man," presumably Giuseppe. Her presence was a threat to Antonio. In late 1906, Rosa took legal action against Antonio for nonsupport; her action was quickly dismissed, and she incurred the legal costs (Deposition, 5). Notwithstanding Rosa's failed action and her tarnished reputation, her legal status as wife remained a challenge to the custody and care of Isabella.

Shortly after Rosa's failed effort to gain support, Antonio took legal action that would not have been possible in Italy (Giannini 1906). He began divorce proceedings. In the Bill of Complaint, Antonio claimed that in his absence from Calabria, Rosa had "committed adultery and had illicit carnal intercourse with one Giuseppe 'Ligiere'" (Article 7); thus, "having laid up a sufficient sum of money with which to provide a respectable home and living for himself and family, he returned to San Giovanni . . . for the purpose of bringing his said wife and child back to this country with him, not yet having learned of the infidelity of his said wife" (Article 8). In the final article, Antonio requested "that he may be divorced and forever freed from the bonds of matrimony . . . [and that] the care, custody and education of the said Isabella . . . be awarded to him" (Article 10). In January 1907, Rosa was summoned to appear in Fairmont for a February divorce deposition; there is no indication that she responded or was present at the deposition. At the deposition, Antonio stated that when he returned to Italy "to bring my wife and child back to Monongia [*sic*]" he "found my wife confined in prison and pregnant. . . . I understood that it was for being connected with burning a house" (Deposition, 3). In response to a question about his wife committing adultery with any other persons, Antonio replied: "Since my wife came to Fairmont several months ago she has borne the reputation of being a common prostitute." In response to the question of Isabella, he said,

"I have her and I want to keep her" (Deposition, 4). When asked about the paternity of Rosa's other child, Antonio said, "I do not know myself, but all the people said it was Giuseppe Digiri" (Deposition, 5).

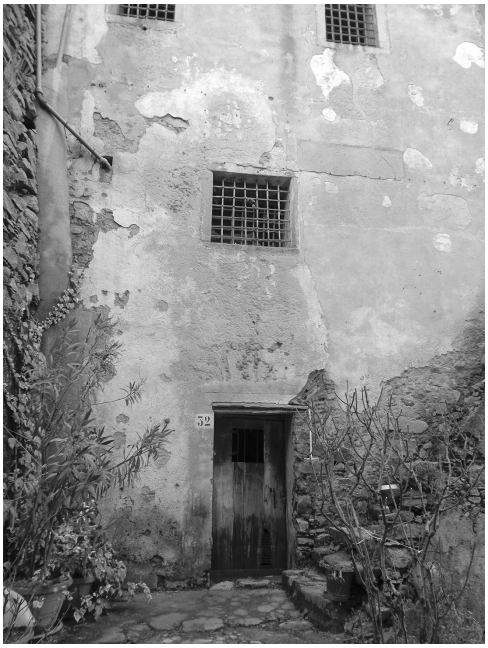
Two fellow miners, Giovanni Basile and Giovanni Tricoci, testified on Antonio's behalf, an Italian agent from the consular office in Fairmont served as translator, and a local attorney represented Antonio.[28] The recorded testimony suffers from identity- and gender confusion. Giovanni Basile testified that he knew Antonio and Rosa: "They lived right by my house in San Giovanni." He knew Rosa "was in jail" when Antonio returned from America and why: "Because she was living with her sweetheart in her mother's house, and her mother made them get out, and she burned her mother's house down." Italian police records indicate that Rosa merely visited Giuseppe's house and that he—not she—burned his—not her—family's animal stall and house. Giovanni Basile testified that Antonio

> left right away and said he was coming back to America and never live with her anymore. . . . He was doing good in America and she let me read some of his letters. . . . She lived just two doors before our house on the same street. . . . I went to see her at the jail after she was put in, for the jail was right near my house too. . . . First her reputation was good, but she was pregnant when she was put in jail, and people said she was a bad woman. I know she had a sweetheart whose name was Giuseppe Digiri. . . . After Antonio left for America, Rosa Siletta and Giuseppe Digiri inhabited the same house as man and wife until she was put in jail. (Deposition 6–11)

Giovanni Tricoci (misnamed Triacocci) was twenty-two, "digging coal," and living in Monongah, when he testified: "I know that after they were married and lived together awhile and had a baby. Antonio come away and said he was coming to America, and we never saw him any more for about three years. . . . She lived there all the time, close to where I lived. . . . I do know that he sent money and wrote letters, for I heard Rosa Siletta [*sic*] say that she got money from her husband Antonio" (Deposition, 9–10).

Basile's and Tricoci's support for Antonio in court hearings is unsurprising: they were *paesani* (fellow villagers), a term that links origins, *cognomi* (surnames), nuclear and extended families, neighbors, and friends, and signifies networks in shared travel, settlement, work, housing, and funerals; they are evident in many transactions, from *testimoni* (witnesses) to *padrini* (godparents) and sponsorship of underaged girls for "*a'mbasciata*" (arranged marriage). *Paesani* networks are normally used to describe "outward" links to geographic areas and institutions, such as the coal industry, but in this research project, the concept was also used to link "inward" to individuals, identifying migrant movement and settlement, locating

Figure 2: Jail.



persons of interest in Antonio's and Rosa's lives, and assessing social reproduction.[29]

On March 2, 1907, a divorce decree was entered into the court record: "It is therefore judged, ordered and decreed that the marriage . . . between the plaintiff Antonio Silletta and the defendant Rosa Silletta be . . . hereby dissolved. . . . There is issue of said marriage, one child, to wit, Isabella. . . . Her father, said Antonio Silletta, is a suitable and proper person to have the care and custody of said child" (Decree). Nine months after the decree was issued, on December 6, 1907, explosions ripped through Fairmont Coal Company's interconnected Mines 6 and 8 in Monongah, killing 361 men and boys; Antonio Silletta, Giovanni Basile, and some two dozen of their *paesani* were dead. Isabella was seven years old.

Within a week of the explosions, the Monongah Mines Relief Committee (MMRC) was established to collect and distribute funds to dependents of dead miners in the United States and Europe (MMRC 1910).[30] The MMRC records contain a file on each miner; documents and information from the coal company, foreign consular offices, local and international financial institutions, civic associations, priests, mayors, citizens, and dependents; and

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much else. Antonio Silletta's story was suggested by notes in MMRC File 303, including his divorce and custody of the child, unusual circumstances that promised to break through the anonymity of an ordinary migrant miner, and suggested to the authors an intriguing story—and sources and means by which it might be revealed (MMRC Miner File 303). The robust MMRC archive is a challenge, however: it contains many errors that have been reproduced in secondary sources, from folklore to government publications in the United States—and abroad (Tropea 2013b).[31] The vast majority killed in this greatest mine disaster in US history were transnational migrants, 170 of them Italian.[32] Misinformation begins linguistically: attempts to record phonetically what persons heard when Italians spoke their *nomi* (names) and *cognomi* (surnames): the basis for identification, and for identity. Many migrants lacked the literacy and other verbal skills or were too intimidated to correct written errors.[33] These misconstructions—including multiple names for the same person—were entered into birth, marriage, census, and death records, as well as the records of the coal company. Mystification, not identification, was produced: legislative hearings on the mining disaster were recorded with so much error that four Italian miners were lost to history; one publication cited misconstrued names of Italian miners reported dead as evidence that they had not been reported at all (West Virginia Legislature 1909; McAteer, 2007). The coal company's anglicized or faux-Italian names even became part of the local Italian church registry.[34] After a century of phonetically ascribed names in documents and daily use, today many West Virginians with Italian ancestors are unsure of their names.[35] The linguistic confusion, together with differing idiomatic usages among Italian *paesani* networks, would have major implications for research into the story of Antonio, Rosa, and Giuseppe.

December 6, 1907, Death among the *Paesani*

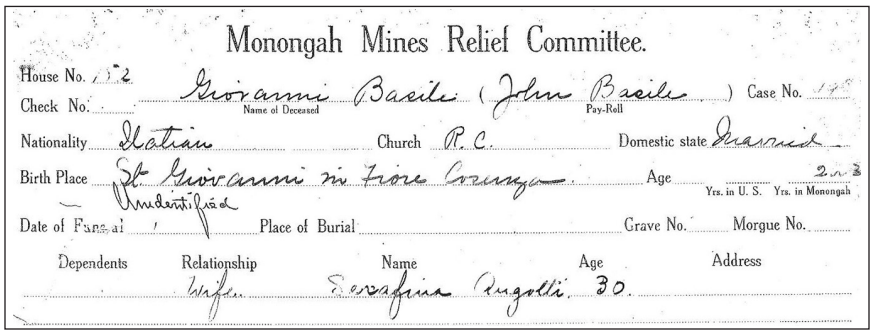
Mine explosions leave splattered dead, harried actions, ugly discoveries, and brief notations. After Mines 6 and 8 exploded, hundreds of bodies and body parts, cobbled into forms for placement, made for many such notations (West Virginia Mine Inspector 1907, 1908). Antonio Silletta died as "Tony Selet," which was closer in approximation than were many other names (Tropea 1996). Brief notes identify the location and removal of Antonio's body: found at "SE Face Loaded Track Switch," twelfth body removed from the mines, identified "at Church," and buried in "Italian Cemetery, Row A, Grave 11."[36] For many, unidentified bodies and body parts were placed in pine boxes for rapid burial, which helped allay grief, health risks, and mayhem but muddied identification (Tropea 2013b). Murky notations, obscure men, and obliterated flesh suggest the dark dead ends of both mines and biography. Yet the notoriety of the Monongah disaster produced more

than the usual brief note-taking, which shows the place of *paesani* in coal-town life and death.

Antonio Silletta had boarded in Fairmont Coal's House Number 159 with three other *paesani*, all of whom died in Mine 6, December 6, 1907.[37] The cousins Giuseppe and Tommaso died only fifteen months after their arrival in New York.[38] Giuseppe, who left an eighteen-year-old wife and a nine-month-old son in San Giovanni, was buried either in Row G, Number 4 or Row I, Number 14, in the Italian cemetery.[39] Tommaso, unmarried, regularly sent money to his mother and father in Italy. He was "unidentified," and what of his body remained could have been buried in a number of plots. Francesco, the fourth *paesani*, left a wife in Italy and was buried in Row C, Number 3. Like Antonio, these men died with multiple names: Giuseppe Ferrari as Giuseppe Ferise, Joe Farera, Jose Ferrara, Guiseppe Fresaro, or Giuseppe Fussaro; Tommaso Perri as Dom Perri or Thomasso Perri; Francesco Abbruzzino as Francesco Abruzzini or Frank Abruzzino (MMRC Miners' Files 4, 122, 260, 303).

Giovanni Basile, who testified at the divorce deposition, rented House 182 from Fairmont Coal, where he was the house's "boss man." He and his wife had two *paesani* boarders, Giuseppe and Serafino Belcastro. The three men died in Mine 6. Giuseppe, unmarried, supported his mother in Italy; neither his nor Giovanni's remains could be identified (MMRC Miners' Files 19, 24). Their body parts may reside in one of the gravesites noted as "unidentified" in the Italian cemetery or in an unmarked spot where body parts were deposited or mixed with other remains in an "identified" burial site (Tropea 2013b). Serafino, the second boarder, left a wife and three children in Italy with "a little property overburdened by debt"; he was buried In Row J, Grave 4 (MMRC Miner File 25). Raffaele Girimonte, another *paesano*, living in House 182 because of a domestic conflict, continued to provide resources for his wife and two stepsons who lived in Monongah;

Figure 3: Unidentified Basile.


Monongah Mines Relief Committee.

House No. 182 Giovanni Basile (John Basile) Case No. 178

Check No. Name of Deceased Pay-Roll

Nationality Italian Church R. C. Domestic state Married

Birth Place St. Giovanni in Fiore Cosenza Age 2 m 3

Unidentified Yrs. in U. S. Yrs. in Monongah

Date of Funeral Place of Burial Grave No. Morgue No.

Dependents	Relationship	Name	Age	Address
	Wife	Serafina Angelli	30.	

he died in Mine 8 and was buried in Row H, Grave 2 (MMRC Miner File 145). In addition to the eight men from Houses 159 and 182, twenty-two other *paesani* died that morning (MMRC 1910).

Death of the Daughter

Antonio's daughter, Isabella, who had been admitted to the Home of the Good Shepherd in May 1905, died there in 1921, at age twenty-one. While established "for wayward girls," the Mother Superior "could not turn away the small children from broken homes; so they also had a class of about forty smaller children known as the Little Guardian Angels" (Keys 1971, 6). After admission at age six, Isabella would have been a "Little Angel," residing in a large frame house. Like Isabella, many "waifs and unfortunates" arrived by way of local humane societies (Good Shepherd Home 1907, 1). Instruction occupied younger girls, while the older ones worked in the commercial laundry ("Bishop Won Chess Game" 1964). Life at Good Shepherd was a routine of academic and religious study, work and prayer, but not uneventful: "We got some pretty bad girls" (Keys 1971, 7). In 1906, Mary was admitted from a disorderly house, whose owners were charged with "conducting a house of ill fame" (Girl taken from disorderly house 1906). In 1909, a twelve-year-old girl was admitted after assault by her father and another man, behavior heinous enough for the state to hang both of them (Great vigilance 1909). In 1911 the frame house in which Isabella was sleeping burned to the ground, and in 1913 a horrendous gas explosion occurred with much shock and damage (Good Shepherd Convent 1911; Keys 1971). Such episodes were more than matched by celebratory events, religious and secular. A 1906 Requiem Mass for Sister Angela was held in the Convent's chapel, where children rendered the Gregorian Mass (Death invades 1906). After Thanksgiving dinner in 1907, "the afternoon was spent in games and music" (Good Shepherd Convent 1907, 1). On Independence Day, 1908, the grounds were decked with flags, and there was a musical program and drills "rendered by the children" and a "beautiful display of fireworks" (Good Shepherd Convent 1908). Italian-born Isabella's institutional life in West Virginia was very Catholic and very American. She received nourishment, housing, clothing, education, religious instruction, job training, and the moral authority of caring adults in Wheeling, which could not be provided in House 159 in Monongah. Still, the institution did not safeguard Isabella from health risks or loneliness.

There are few indicators of Isabella's private life at Good Shepherd: a note on her admission; a nine-sentence commentary on her life and death; census information, which notes her 1910 and 1920 status, respectively, as "inmate" and "pupil"; a brief letter from a Monongah priest asking about her situation—written a month after her death.[40] Excepting the priest's

letter, all documents misconstrue her name, each with a different variant; moreover, the admission note and death certificate incorrectly record her age and year of birth. The nine-sentence commentary correctly identifies the nature of her father's death, "killed in the Monongah Coal Mine Explosion," but incorrectly notes that "her mother had died previously." Still, the commentary provides a sketch of a lonely and sickly life: "For many years Isabell [*sic*] was entirely forgotten by her relations. When about to come of age, however, her uncle came to see her, and to offer her a home, but God prevented her leaving by sending her, her last sickness. She died a peaceful holy death, and was buried in Mt. Calvary. The Magdalen habit was given to her on her death bed." Her death may have been peaceful, but it was preceded by much distress, certainly physical, maybe emotional: Isabella reportedly asked for her mother during her final sickness.[41] The death certificate confirms the sickly character of her institutional life, with death's primary cause "pulmonary tuberculosis," a disease of lengthy duration, with a "contributory factor of influenza." She may have been ill for a good portion of her time at Good Shepherd. Isabella Silletta's headstone was engraved "Sister Lucy Siletto," one last misnomer.

Seeking the "Survivors": Names and Documents

Rosa's legal action against Antonio established her presence in West Virginia in 1906. In Antonio's 1907 deposition statement, he said Rosa was living in the coal town of Bretz, in Preston County, which gave researchers a

Figure 4: Isabella's gravestone.

locus to begin searching for her and for "the other man," Giuseppi. Neither could be found in the town records of Bretz or other nearby coal towns, using Rosa's *cognome*, "Scavoglio" (birth *cognomi* of women were provided); Antonio's, "Silletta"; Giuseppe's, "Ligiere" or "Digiri"; and variations of these *cognomi*, including anglicized versions and possible aliases.[42] After a colleague of the researchers in Italy suggested "Digiri" might be a variant of "Ruggiero," a common *cognome* in San Giovanni, the search continued with "Ruggiero" as the primary guide. Many recorded misconstructions of Ruggiero were found—Reggie, Riggie, Reggreo, Ruggero, Ruggieri, Rugiere—some of them used in Bretz. Initially, the few Ruggiero *paesani* in a small coal town whose deaths were briefly recorded seemed of little consequence. For example, twin girls, Lucretia and Mary, with the surname "Reggie," were born in October 1913, to Giovanni "Ruggieri" and Maria Teresa Guarascio; in 1914, Lucretia died of pneumonia, and two weeks later Mary died, each girl living little more than a year.[43] John was born April 1919, to Paul "Reggreo" and "Lucrege Larati" (Laratta) and died of influenza a little over a month later.[44] "Baby Ruggrero" was born May 1918, to "Jno. Ruggrero" and "Mamie Walsasha" (Guarascio) and died the same day.[45] Such childhood morbidity may be expected among transnational migrants working and living in a small coal town, sometimes returning to Italy for periods long or short, but in America, laboring in an alien setting with poverty, wrenching labor at the coke ovens and in the mines, poor medical conditions, and uncontrolled epidemics.

And then the death of Costanza Romano in Morgantown was discovered (Miner's wife 1917). Costanza, her mother, Rosa Laratta, three siblings, and two *paesane* from San Giovanni arrived at Ellis Island on July 2, 1908; their destination was Bretz, where the sister of Rosa Laratta lived.[46] Rosa gave birth to a fifth child less than two weeks after their arrival, and three months later, her fifteen-year-old daughter, "Castanza" (Costanza), married Saverio Rugiere.[47] According to the town records, "Sam Riggie" and "Constance Roman" gave birth to three children in five years in Bretz.[48] "Constanzia" Ruggiero died at age twenty-four in Morgantown, near medical facilities, less than three years after the birth of her third child ("Miner's wife" 1917, 1). The causes of death were listed as "general dropsy" (edema), heart trouble, and hepatitis.[49] While Costanza's death confirms the toll incurred by a woman bearing children in an isolated coal mining town, it also illustrates the place of *paesani* in social reproduction. When Italian wives died, they were often replaced by *paesane*, as was Costanza: "Ross Biafors" (Rosa Biafora), a *paesana* to Constanza and Saverio, arrived in the United States destined for a "friend," Saverio, in "Bretty," West Virginia.[50] Such replacements were important for many reasons, not least of which was preparing children for domestic and paid work. The death of Costanza Romano Ruggiero, along with the deaths of the Ruggiero children,

demonstrated not only personal crises within families but also the place of *a'mbasciata* (arranged marriage) in the reproduction of coal labor and of families—and the presence of Ruggieros in Bretz.

The deaths of children (and a mother) confirm the local presence of Calabrian *paesani*; Rosa and Giuseppe might have been drawn to Bretz by countrymen, but they would probably not have remained in such an isolated community, especially a man who once had wealth enough to own a mule. Although research in Bretz failed to uncover Rosa and Giuseppe, it led to casting a wider *paesani* net over other towns in the Fairmont Coalfield, and it discovered Teresa Romeo. Teresa had arrived at Ellis Island from San Giovanni with her parents, Antonio Romeo and Caterina "Olivero" (Oliverio), as early as 1903.[51] Five years later, Giovanni Ruggiero arrived with his older brother, Salvatore, who was returning to West Virginia.[52] The *paesani*, Teresa and Giovanni, were married in 1915.[53] In a little over eight years, Teresa had five or six children by Giovanni Ruggiero; she died at age thirty-one.[54] The death certificate lists Teresa's cause of death as "typhoid fever" and "exhaustion," but in subsequent interviews, Teresa's daughter and granddaughter informed the researchers that she died of an abortion.[55] ("Exhaustion" was not entirely illusory; it simply excluded the effects of bungled incisions and/or poor aftercare; such deception was a convention for recording "awkward" births and deaths.[56]) In any event, Teresa could not endure more childbearing. Like Costanza, she, too, was replaced with a *paesana*, seventeen-year-old Anna Mancino. This young woman assumed the care of Giovanni's five children by Teresa and bore him seven more, six of whom survived.[57] The burdens of Giovanni's second wife were daunting; she spent time in an asylum, suffering from a nervous breakdown.[58] The family interviews disclosed that Giovanni and his brother were "heavy-handed" with their wives, to whom, nonetheless, they seemed deeply attached.[59] Giovanni outlived both wives.

The Ruggiero, Romano, and Romeo *cognomi* enlarged the *paesani* net, which continued to guide the search for Rosa and Giuseppe through records of births, marriages, and deaths. This net ensnared children and women in additional coal towns. For example, Romano children's deaths are noted in four towns: Antonio, four, "exhaustion" (Fairmont, 1908); "Antino," sixteen days, "complications" (Grant, 1909); Katherine, four, "burned" (Grant, 1915); "Giberto," one month, "influenza" (Clarksburg, 1917); "Tony Roman," eight months, "flu" (Meadowbrooke, 1918); "Infant Romano," twelve hours, "premature birth" (Clarksburg, 1921); "Romano," "still born" (Clarksburg, 1923).[60] Romeo deaths are noted in the small town of Shinnston: "Mary Romeo," age two, "burned" (1915); "Flenireno Romeo," twenty-one days, "heart" (1915); "Child Romeo," "still born" (1918).[61] These relatively few childhood deaths indicate crises in personal life and difficulties in social

reproduction, but, with little information beyond death and its causes, no pattern can be explored. When "Mrs. Mary Romeo" died in Shinnston in 1918 of influenza, she left little information other than race, approximate age, and an illegible name of an informant.[62] However, "Mary" may have been Maria Marino, eighteen when she married Rocco Romeo from San Giovanni in August 1912, less than a month after her arrival at Ellis Island. In her six years in Shinnston, she could have mothered all three of the dead Romeo children.[63] Mary's listed cause of death was influenza, but it may also indicate childbearing strains, poor nutrition, little rest, and other life exigencies—housekeeping, gardening—in coal-town living. The deaths of Costanza Romano Ruggiero and Teresa Romeo Ruggiero suggest the emotional and biological costs of reproducing life within the bounds of patriarchal culture and limited coal-town resources.

In the end, despite exploration of *paesani* networks in coal-based migration, facts about Rosa and Giuseppe were not located until the authors uncovered West Virginia documentation: death certificates for two baby boys issued in 1921 and 1922. Typically, their deaths were registered with two different *cognomi* and two different sets of parents: Joseph Ruggiere and Rosia Scavuol; Joe Ruggiero and Rosa Scarfoglio. Still, these records suggested for the first time Giuseppe's presence in West Virginia, and the first for Rosa since the 1907 divorce deposition. The babies, John and Frank, were born July 24, 1921, in Grant Town, a West Virginia mining town.[64] They were baptized at Saint Anthony Church in Grant Town, September 4, 1921. While baptism records add more versions of the parents' *cognomi*, Rugiero and Scavilia, the *padrini* (godparents) suggest *paesani*, adding authority to the discovery.[65] Less than two weeks after the baptism, infant John died of "ileo-colitis" and septicemia; baby Frank died of bronchial pneumonia and malnutrition at a little under seven months of age.[66] They were buried in Fairmont's Holy Cross Cemetery.[67] Even acknowledging the use of rituals of baptism and burial, and the difficulties of coal-town child-rearing, the boys' deaths allow speculation about poor care by adults who were unable, maybe unwilling, to safeguard their infants' lives—a view likely jaundiced by Rosa and Giuseppe's Italian history. In these sad burials, it seemed that research into their American lives had reached a dead end. Then by happenstance, a photo of a Fairmont headstone turned up on the Internet, engraved with the surname "Verge"—with an accompanying notation linking Verge to the *cognome* "Ruggiero." On the headstone were legible "Rosa" and "Joseph."[68]

Rosa and Giuseppe in West Virginia: Transformations

Census records showed different surnames for the same family: Vergie (1920); Virgie (1930); Verge (1940).[69] The contemporary Verge family was already known to one of the authors, a familiarity that proved important

when interviewing Rosa and Giuseppe's grandchildren.[70] The eight descendants interviewed were unaware of Rosa and Giuseppe's Italian history of prior marriages, the house fire, the jailing in San Giovanni, or even of Antonio, Isabella, and particulars about their uncles, the twin boys John and Frank. While unsettled by the information, the grandchildren accepted the San Giovanni story and its outcome after reviewing documentation.[71] In turn, they revealed what they knew of the West Virginia portion of their grandparents' lives. Their memories of Giuseppe, who died in 1945, were sparse, but Rosa was remembered well and with fondness. Grant Town offered a little land to Rosa. She not only gathered what grew wild, like dandelions, chicory, and poke salad, but cultivated what could be consumed or sold, including products from an herb garden. She grew poppies for opium—a nonprescription remedy that Rosa used in her practice as a midwife (Porter 1922). She had a cow, whose surplus milk was sold, and a smokehouse to preserve meats. She crocheted bedspreads and dining room tablecloths, still preserved in the family. Of course, Rosa cooked. The grandchildren remembered that the sound of a car horn—a necessary warning for a hairpin turn on nearby Buttermilk Hill—was a signal for Rosa to boil water for pasta, for family would soon arrive.

Rosa and Giuseppe had lived together in West Virginia for about forty years, most of it in Grant Town, most under the name Verge; they raised four children to adulthood, all deceased by the time the family was contacted.[72] The transnational contrasts between Rosa's and Giuseppe's lives in San Giovanni and in Grant Town, between adultery and house-burning and forty years of West Virginia domesticity, between what their grandchildren remembered and what the authors had discovered, are stark; they require explication. Personal changes, like those uncovered in the lives of Rosa and Giuseppe, are too often viewed as loose chronologies of maturation, dismissed with common sayings such as "boys will be boys." More sophisticated notions of personal change often decontextualize individual histories. Contrasting a virile forty-two-year-old village male of some means, avenging the slight of a lover, with a resigned eighty-year-old miner suggests only life stages, not transformations that link them—transformations rooted in particular contingencies and consequences of transnational migration. Giuseppe's masculine license was nurtured in a South Italian village with prerogatives granted a son in the comforts of a mule driver's home; he abused and changed that status and comfort through fury and his mother's death, which took him from a familiar, favored situation to a hurried escape followed by labor in a coal mine in a foreign land. His later years were spent in that alien land where, without mastering its language, he relied on a woman and children, persons he was culturally expected to dominate rather than depend on. The transformation of a young South

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Italian peasant mother of little means, with an absent husband and irregular remittances, into a West Virginia matriarch with practical cunning, energy, home, and agricultural resources for support, is obvious.

What drove these very different transformations? At the time of the fateful 1904 night in San Giovanni when Giuseppe set fire to his family's house, formal justice in Old Calabria has been characterized as "burlesque": "country-bred lads . . . locked up for months and years in prison on the flimsiest pretexts—often on the mere word of some malevolent local policeman"; "savings are wasted in paying lawyers and bribing greedy court officials"; "it is hardly surprising . . . rich and poor alike are ready to hide a . . . fugitive from justice" (Douglas 1920, 280, 275, 279).[73] Such "justice" motivated many persons to abscond and migrate, and others to assist in the process.[74] After the fire and death of Giuseppe's mother, he could not remain in Italy, had little choice but to emigrate; some in the family helped him on his way.[75] In contrast to the farce of formal justice in South Italy stood the effectiveness of informal village justice brought to bear on Rosa's transgressions (Chapman 1971). To be sure, pressures for approved conduct might be challenged by the need to survive, and scorn might not have sufficed to discipline a young, poor mother receiving remittance, however irregular. But Rosa's situation markedly worsened after the death of Giuseppe's mother, his departure, and her incarceration. Her indiscretions became a matter of public record, which promised greater vulnerability, deeper scorn, and social isolation in the village once she was released from jail. Departing the jail signaled her plight, not her restitution: Rosa, too, had little choice but to leave San Giovanni.

The logistics and the route of their journey—or journeys—to the United States have not been established beyond the remark in Antonio's deposition that "the other man" provided support for Rosa's travel. Still, the practical demands of settlement in an Appalachian coal mining town and of shared secrecy would have bound Rosa and Giuseppe to one another in ways unrealized in San Giovanni.[76] While their joint motivation for emigration was unusual, their West Virginia experience was not uncommon among migrant families, an experience that helps explain changes within and between Rosa and Giuseppe. Family and *paesani* can conceal as well as illuminate, especially given the gendered division of labor and the nature of coal work in West Virginia. In industrializing economies, woman's work, through value realized in wage and/or nonwage labor, often keeps a family above subsistence levels; in some cases her efforts exceed the value of the man's wages, especially if land can be exploited (Scott and Tilly 1975). Rosa's age and gender would have enabled greater adaptability in Grant Town circumstances. For men, industrial labor routines like mining exhausted and deadened, physically and mentally, in contrast to the variety

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of domestic, agricultural, and entrepreneurial efforts of migrant women, used to countryside toil (Haslberger 2010).[77] Poverty also drove sons into paid work to aid family income—often, as with Giuseppe's sons, to work in the mines at early ages—to supplement or replace aging paternal labor. In this way, gender differences continued into another generation, with the male legacy marked by the bounds of clock time and stultifying labor. Meanwhile, the variety of life-sustaining wisdom, skills, and products of some women not only kept families from the grasp of the company store, but also provided cherished legacies of artifacts, memories, and traditions.

Despite these common experiences, uniqueness must be recognized as well. Giuseppe, unlike most migrants, had been materially and socially graced in the village. He also did not begin work as a coal miner until he was in his mid-forties, more than two decades behind most miners in goals and energy. Giuseppe may have been exhausted before he began his West Virginia life: his first American son was born there when he was fifty-seven years old. These speculations are buttressed by family memories of him as a taciturn man who did not give much attention to his grandchildren and, in part because he knew little English, did not say much to them. When he went outside to sit under the pine tree in the front yard to smoke, he isolated himself in silence—the probable effect of changes big and small, from family and social status, to language and exhausting work.[78] In addition, his grandchildren suspect he may have suffered from black lung: a few decades after his arrival in the United States, Giuseppe listed "none" as his occupation and by then, his two sons delivered milk to aid the family. When the

Figure 5: Giuseppe.

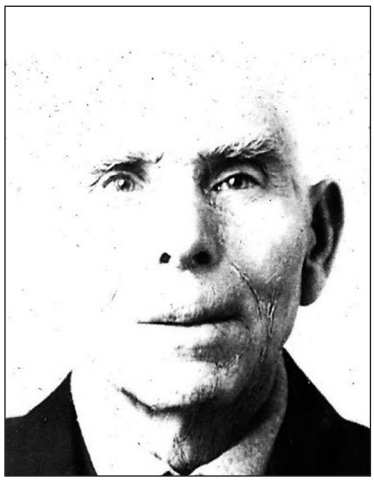

Figure 6: Rosa.

sons reached about thirteen, they entered the coal mines to provide wages for the family. Such circumstances shaped memories of Giuseppe's place, and effects, in the family.

In contrast, Rosa, the poor peasant, whose status would have diminished, if not worsened, in Italy, began her US life in her mid-twenties, no longer in the clutches of a clouded past. Freed from the debilitating South Italian economy, as well as custom and tradition for women, Rosa used her resources, wit, and labor, not unlike many women facing challenges to survive in West Virginia. While the birth of four boys within thirty months took its toll in the deaths of the twins, unlike *paesane* Costanza, Teresa, and Maria, Rosa was not drained but renewed by migration and new births in a new land. Memories of Rosa remain vivid, indicating the effects of her transformation from a vulnerable peasant girl in San Giovanni to a resourceful and cherished matriarch in Grant Town.

Summary Comments

Paesani, coal companies, and individual lives and deaths are entwined in transnational migration and the social reproduction of labor, family, and coal. In particular, *paesani* networks seem integral to West Virginia coal production: mitigating corporate costs for recruitment, replacement, and travel of labor; reducing wage pressures through personal finance and matchmaking, costs of health and home care, and food production; abetting child-rearing and a supply of labor in the next generation.[79] In this research project, *paesani* helped to establish identities, events, contexts, and chronologies, as well as to aid in the correction of domestic and transnational sources; use of the concept ensnared bits and pieces of many lives, which provided context and helped order records and interviews into meaningful patterns.

In the early twentieth century, migration fractured villages, families, memories, records, and validation of the identities of ordinary migrants. Their compromises, intimacies, deceits, rages, accidents, and personal transformations were left uncovered both in towns of origin and in places of settlement, especially in places like West Virginia. With critical and comparative use of documents, *paesani* nets, and interviews, the authors have substantiated the death of a miner, dalliance of a wife, wrath of a paramour, divorce, paternal custody, convent upbringing, loss of women and children, and wife replacement, among other findings. Uncovered intimacies neither validate nor vindicate migrants, even persons like Rosa, who found some redemption in West Virginia. These findings may be unremarkable as isolated discoveries but not when they cohere into a transnational narrative with primary-source support, linking vital, surprising individual lives in the South Apennines and Appalachia.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Sr. Mary James Cody, Sisters of Our Lady of Charity, Wheeling, West Virginia, for opening the door to Isabella's brief life; Janice Cale Sisler, historian, Preston County, West Virginia, for directing our early steps on the *paesani* West Virginia trail; Jon-Erik Gilot, Diocesean Director of Archives and Records, Wheeling, West Virginia, for helping document the story; Professor Richard Juliani, Villanova University, for critical commentary; and Anthony and Leonard Verge, Rosa and Giuseppe's grandsons, and Maria Teresa Guzzo, San Giovanni in Fiore, without whom there would have been no story.

Notes

1. Quote from Alan Kraut in e-mail to Tropea, July 20, 2014.

2. For government involvement, see US Immigration Commission (1911) and Sheridan (1907). For a summary of the relationship between government, ethnicity, and industry, see Lauck (1910). For concerns about immigrant laborers, see Claghorn (1913). For examples of the voluminous "Chicago school" literature, see Plummer (1997); Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley (2002); and MacLean and Williams (2012).

3. There are many "vanity-type" works containing individuals and families who provide their virtues, successes, photographs, and monies in exchange for publication; see, for an example, Brignano (1999). "Vanity publications" largely obtained for white immigrants; see Glazer (1993). While the individual migrant who lacked achievement or acquisition or returned to the "old country" did not inspire publications or testimonials, group repatriation was of interest; see, for example, Shumsky (1992); and Caroli (1973).

4. For "post-assimilation" work, much of it influenced by Rudolph Vecoli, see Vecoli (1964); Yans-McLaughlin (1977); Brettell (1986); Gabaccia (1994); Gerber (2011); Bukowczyk (2002). For work on transnational societies, institutions, communities, and networks, see Hoerder and Moch (1996); Peck (1996); Lazar (2001); and Reeder (2003). For a shift in time historical frame, see Juliani (1998).

5. See, for example, Miners 228 and 236 in West Virginia Mine Inspector (1907, 246, 247); and Fowler (2012).

6. See Serra (2007); and Aficano and Allavato (2008). For the problem of substantiation and its damaging effects on a community and a single life, see, respectively, Gross and Hoffman (2004); and Tropea (2013a).

7. For a critical review of Italian-American literature and poetry, see Tamburri (2013); and Marazzi (2011). For an eclectic collection of poetry, see Barone (2011). For the cinema and theater, see Muscio, Scorra, and Spagnoletti (2010); and Aleandri (2006). For personal histories, see Serra (2007); Barolini (1985); Tamburri, Giordano, and Gardaphé (2000). Of course, literature, poetry, cinema and theater do not claim subscription to research canons of social science or history; their normative criteria entail quality and esthetics of representation, not methods using original sources or statistics. See, for example, Kirschstein (2001); and Bono (2010, especially chap. 3).

8. Trappers, usually but not exclusively the youngest of workers, controlled the flow of air in the mines by opening and closing doors.

9. Flawed claims resulted from authors' uncritical use, or non-use, of primary sources and little effort at corroboration; see, for example, Bonasso (2003); McAteer (2007); Korson (1943). Of course, there are other genres of publication and production whose authors have no pretense to social or historical research canons and analysis but are often influenced by flawed secondary sources, from photographic essays, poetry, novels, memoirs, biographies, theater, and ballet; see, for example, Basile and Byers (2011); Marano (1979); D'Ariano and D'Ariano (1976, 1963); Julian (2010); Derosa (2010); Monongah play to open (2012); and "Appalachian Suites" (2013).

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10. Memoirs or biographies of generations that distill achievement, success, patriotism, and family values often avoid the intimate; see Brignano (1999).

11. See Ciccarelli (2001); and Serra (2007). *Rosa: The Life of an Italian Immigrant* (Ets 1970), one of the better known of Italian migrant memoirs, illustrates evasiveness (see Ciccarelli 2001).

12. This obtained for Rosa and Giuseppe in the reported research.

13. See US Immigration Commission (1911, 144–50); and West Virginia Archives and History, "Recruitment of Immigrants."

14. Deaths in the 1907 Monongah coal mine explosions illustrate this: Italians numbered 170 dead, almost 50 percent of the total reported, but only two were from north Italy.

15. Miners worked in clock-time "shifts" but were paid by coal-weight transported to the mine head.

16. For peonage elsewhere, see Milani (1991); and Boehm (1991).

17. See notations of animals and men in "Time for the Month of March, 1907" in MMRC, Boxes 14–15.

18. Mining laments are often noted in song; see, for example, Green (1972).

19. Capital investment costs for animals (purchase) exceeded that for human labor (hiring). See West Virginia Mine Inspector (1908, 216–25).

20. The Fairmont—and Elk Garden—Coalfield covers six counties in northern West Virginia, including Harrison County. It is the area for much of the West Virginia part of the research. For immigration from San Giovanni, see Davis (1970). The nature of this movement can be noted in the concentration and destination of Sangiovannesi listed in ship manifests from Ellis Island; for example, on the *Regina Elena*, May 8, 1904, there were eleven Sangiovannesi, on the *Konigen Luise*, April 13, 1905, ten Sangiovannesi, and on the *Republic*, March 5, 1906, twelve Sangiovannessi—of these thirty-three *paesani*, twenty-four were destined for West Virginia.

21. Copies of marriage and birth certificates were provided by Comune di San Giovanni in Fiore.

22. For Antonio, as was usual for many Italians, the "boss man" was a *paesano* (fellow villager).

23. Reports and their translations provided by Maria Teresa Guzzo, San Giovanni in Fiore. In addition, Guzzo forwarded the source of information on Giuseppe's background and the incident giving rise to the death of his mother: Archivo di Stato di Cosenza: Regno D'Italia R. Pretura Mandamentale di S. Giovanni in Fiore, Num. 116, Risposta a telegrammo dei di 31/1/1905; Legione Territoriale El Carabinieri Reali di Bari, Teneza di Rogliano.

24. See Archivo di Stato di Cosenza (see note 23); and Silletta v. Silletta (Intermediate Court of Marion County, West Virginia). The legal actions cited in this case took place from November 1906 until the Decree was entered, March 2, 1907. These include The Bill of Complaints, The Deposition, and The Decree.

25. Personal communications with Maria Teresa Guzzo, July 2013.

26. For a grandniece of Giuseppe, memories still prompt reticence to speak with strangers. Information was secured from her grandson, who questioned her and relayed what little information she provided to Maria Teresa Guzzo. However, no evidence for a birth or baptism resulting from the jail pregnancy has been located.

27. Good Shepherd note, provided by Jon-Erik Gilot, Director, Office of Archives and Records, Diocese of Wheeling-Charleston, Wheeling, West Virginia. MMRC, Miner File # 303.

28. The Italian agent was G. D. Caldara and the attorney was M. M. Neely, who later served as West Virginia Governor and in both houses of the US Congress.

29. Information obtained by "following the *paesani* trail" enabled the authors to correct and corroborate transnational sources—including interviews; acquire accurate identities; and substantiate events, contexts, and chronologies, including personal transformations, and,

thereby, to "turn inward." "Chain migration" is a well-known phenomenon, whose origins may be multiple communities, particular villages, or even families, and whose "outward" direction focuses on travel destinations, work sites, industries, foreign metropolitan areas, and labor movements, not the individual life of an ordinary migrant. See, for example, Baily (1999); Frizzel (1987); Gabaccia (1988); Vecchio (2006); and Rinaldetti (2014).

30. The MMRC's archived records are housed in the West Virginia and Regional History Center, West Virginia University. Some cite the MMRC as one of the earliest efforts to professionalize the administration of charity in the United States; see Lohmann and Johnson (1993) and Tropea (2008; 2013b).

31. For incorrect numbers for miners killed and dependents left behind, see US Department of Labor, Mine Safety and Health Administration (http://www.msha.gov/DISASTER/MONONGAH/MONON16.asp).

32. "Explosions" is used because they occurred in the interconnected Fairmont Coal Company Mines 6 and 8. The singular "explosion" is used to designate the site of a particular death or deaths.

33. Intimidation was a part of the migrant laborer's life; see Bailey (1991); Wellman (1902, 15). West Virginia Senator Roman Prezioso characterizes the Italian migrants' disposition: They were "private people because they were foreigners in a strange country who didn't want to cause a commotion. They didn't want to do anything that shined a light on them" (Gallagher 2013, 6).

34. Records of the Church of Our Lady of Pompeii, Monongah, West Virginia, General Correspondence, Center for Migration Studies, New York. Money was withdrawn from Italian workers' pay and a "Subscription List" with names and "contributions" was routinely forwarded to the church from the Fairmont Coal Company; for example, the list for July 17, 1906, shows each name with a 40 cents contribution.

35. For example, an Italian American lawyer from Morgantown in 2013 asked one of the authors what his family's original surname might be.

36. Two MMRC boxes ordered subsequent to the boxes containing the miners' files hold two original work tablets, one containing order of body removal and mine number and the other containing within-mine location where the body was found, where the body was identified, and where the body was placed in the cemetery.

37. The results of the canvass of houses are contained in the last two large boxes in the MMRC collection.

38. Giuseppe arrived on the *Italia* (August 30, 1906) and Tommaso on the *Citta di Milano* (September 6, 1906).

39. This uncertainty is a result of contradictory information in the records.

40. Copy of admission note and nine-sentence summary provided by Sister Jane, Sisters of Our Lady of Charity, Wheeling, and the letter from the priest, R. Maggiore, provided by Jon-Erik Gilot; Isabella Silletta, Death certificate # 4746, Ohio County, Wheeling, West Virginia, September 27, 1921.

41. This is noted both in the nine-sentence commentary and the priest's letter.

42. Fortunately, in the early years of immigration, birth *cognomi* of women were often recorded, consistent with the Italian tradition, and not simply the husband's surname.

43. Parents' names gathered from Marriage License Records, Monongalia County (1913, 224), WV Archives; Death Records (http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_dcsearch.aspx); and Preston County Death Records (Kingwood).

44. Preston County Death Records (Kingwood).

45. Information from Preston County. These persons were likely the parents of Lucretia and Mary, the twin girls who died.

46. Ellis Island, *Konigin Luise*, Ship Manifest, July 2, 1908.

47. Caterina Romano, Death certificate #8159, Harrison County, Clarksburg, June 9, 1923—where birth and location are also noted; Marion County Marriage Records (1908, 325).

48. Preston County Birth Records (Kingwood).

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49. Costanza Ruggiero (1917).

50. Ellis Island, Ship Manifest, *Saxonia*, December 1, 1920.

51. Ellis Island, Ship Manifest, *Neckar*, March 27, 1903.

52. Ellis Island, Ship Manifest, *Konigin Luise*, December 10, 1908.

53. Renee Ruggiero (niece of Giovanni), interviews, August through September, 2013; records from Italy established the date of the marriage, but Renee could not verify its location. Note: marriage information is recorded in the *comune* (local administration) even if the marriage took place out of Italy.

54. There is some confusion about the birth of twins, and the possible early death of one.

55. Teresa Ruggiero (1929). The women interviewed corroborated the abortion story but differed on the agent of the action. Mary Ruggiero Constante (daughter of Teresa), phone interview, August 2, 2013; Mary related that her father, Giovanni, told her a doctor killed her mother while performing an abortion. Tina Ruggiero (granddaughter of Teresa), phone interview, July 30, 2013; Tina related that her father and uncle talked of their mother, Teresa, having "aborted herself with a coat hanger and bled to death."

56. Explanation offered by Janice Cale Sisler, historian in Preston County.

57. Interview of Renee Ruggiero.

58. Interview of Tina Ruggiero.

59. Mary Ruggiero Constante, Tina Ruggiero, and Renee Ruggiero; Renee added by way of example, that the death of Salvatore's long-time wife "haunted" him—a likely response to the loss of intense dependence, as well as attachment. A year after his wife's death, Salvatore returned to San Giovanni to marry and begin a second family, at more than sixty-five years of age.

60. Romano (1923); http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_dcsearch.aspx. The first death reported, Catherine, was a younger sister of Costanza Romano.

61. WV Archives, Death Records.

62. Ibid.

63. A Mary Romeo is reported to have died on October 26, 1917, in Shinnston. However, this may be a recording error, confusing it with the death of Mary Romeo on October 26, 1918.

64. John Ruggiero (1921); Frank Ruggiero (1922).

65. Registrum Baptismorum in Ecclesia (1921, 44). Copy provided by Jon-Erik Gilot. The *padrini*: Lamanna, Romino, Mundola (likely Amendola) and Manice (likely Mancina).

66. John Ruggiero (1921); Frank Ruggiero (1922).

67. The authors acquired receipts for burial costs from Jon-Erik Gilot, but not the location of the grave sites. A visit to the cemetery failed to locate the burial sites.

68. This occurred in late September 2013. The photo was viewed on findagrave.com and is available at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=57085180&PIpi=31879445 (accessed October 12, 2016).

69. US Census data available from Ancestry.com, US Federal Census Collection (http://search.ancestry.com/search/group/usfedcen).

70. The discovery and contacts with the "Verge" family occurred between late September and mid-November 2013. A total of eight persons were interviewed, in person and by telephone, during this period; this included five grandchildren, one grandnephew, a life partner of a deceased grandson, and a great granddaughter by marriage.

71. These third- and fourth-generation family members were more accepting of what the family history revealed than would normally be expected of the second generation.

72. Giuseppe's first arrival and destination in the United States is recorded in Ellis Island, Ship Manifest, *Neckar*, arrival June 4, 1894. Giuseppe's destination of Pittston, Pennsylvania, was the location of the infamous Twin Shaft Disaster in 1896, two years after Giuseppe's arrival. This may have served as motivation to migrate to the Fairmont Coalfield.

73. Personal and financial costs of formal justice debilitated many persons and families, even for minor transgressions; see, for example, Villari (1902, 228–31). Douglas's observations, as well as Giuseppe's flight from justice, are also supported by Foerster's systematic study

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of Italian emigration, which was reviewed for its "preponderating emphasis" on economic conditions (Fairchild 1921, 330). In this work, Foerster writes of Italy with "a government administratively weak" (1919, 98), with "the endless denial of state justice" (1919, 453) and with the flight from "penal justice" (1919, 12, 219).

74. Two relatives of one of the authors absconded from Italy to avoid 'justice,' one after an accidental death and another after he was thought to be cooperating with the *carabinieri* (police) on identifying the whereabouts of the escaped bandito Giuseppe Musolino. The ill-repute of Italian justice, as administered in the South, is illustrated by the trial of Giuseppe Musolino, a Robin-Hood-like character; see Possumato (2013).

75. Maria Teresa Guzzo, e-mail, July 23, 2013; information from grandniece of Giuseppe.

76. The 1930 Census indicates two different years as arrival dates in the United States: 1907 (Giuseppe) and 1908 (Rosa). The 1908 arrival of Rosa is contradicted by the divorce documents, unless she returned to Italy, which is highly unlikely. If the 1907 date is correct for Giuseppe, it would suggest they traveled separately to the United States. Also, no record of a US marriage certificate for Rosa and Giuseppe was found.

77. Note especially author's discussion of the literature and "Conclusion."

78. Anthony and Leonard Verge, interview, October 23, 2013.

79. Two twelve-year-old Italian boys were killed while working in the Monongah mines, December 6, 1907.

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